

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] way. For example, the Madhya Pradesh Governor got high denomination notes-worth Rs. 1,80,000 changed into lower denomination notes from the State Bank by forcing the Agent to open the strong room before the banking hours. This is going on. If the Governor goes and forces the State Bank open . . . (*Interruptions*) Sir, I have been a little upset by the credibility of the Governor.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Don't be upset.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, I want to make a submission.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can make it later. The Calling Attention is there. All of you will be given an opportunity without any difficulty.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I want to raise a point of order and I want your ruling on this. The question is that this subject has already been brought before the House by way of a Calling Attention notice and this is the first item on the Agenda for today. So, the Minister need not provoke another issue just now. Whatever he has to say, he can say in reply to the Calling Attention notice; he can give explanations.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, I want to submit that the Calling Attention notice should, be converted into a Short Duration Discussion.

SHRI LAI %. ADVANI (Delhi): Sir, I would submit that in the case of a Proclamation issued by the President, this House is constitutionally bound to get an opportunity of discussing the whole Proclamation along with the Report given by the Governor and I would suggest that this Calling Attention notice cannot be viewed in that context; there has to be a separate discussion on the Proclamation and, if necessary, if the House is to be extended by a day or two, that should be done and there should be no attempt to rush it through.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is very simple; now the Nagaland Budget will also have to come before this House. There is ample opportunity for all of you to speak. I am not barring anybody. Why create trouble unnecessarily?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, you have to accommodate me. Keds are very found of red herrings and, therefore, when a Governor goes and gets higher denomination notes changed to lower denomination notes to the tune of Rs. 1.80 lakhs by forcing open the Bank locker, the credibility of the Governor is in question.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

Reported Adjournment of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly *Sine die* without passing the Budget

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH (Nagaland): Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the reported adjournment of the Nagaland Legislative Assembly *sine die* without passing the Budget, thus creating a constitutional crisis.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY): Sir, on the resignation of Shri Vizol on the 9th March, 1975, Shri J. B. Jasokie was invited to form the Government in the State of Nagaland and the Council of Ministers was sworn in on the 10th March, 1975. On the 19th March, 1975, the Leader of the United Democratic Front (U.D.F.) claimed before the Governor that his Party had the majority in the Legislative Assembly.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): What date?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: On the 19th March.

The Governor advised him that since the Assembly was in session, the trial of

strength should take place on the floor of the House. The Legislative Assembly of Nagaland met on the 20th March, 1975. but was adjourned sine die. The trial of strength could not take place.

A report has been received from the Governor of Nagaland last evening. On the basis of the situation obtaining in the State, the Governor has recommended that the President be pleased to make a proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Nagaland, assuming to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the State of Nagaland and all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by the Governor and also to suspend the Nagaland Legislative Assembly and declare that the powers of the Legislature of the State shall be exercisable by or under the authority of the Parliament.

The Governor's report has been considered by the President who has been pleased to issue a proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution. A copy of the Proclamation along with the report of the Governor has been, just now, Sir, placed on the Table of the House. We will be seeking separately the approval of the House to the Proclamation.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, before we start the discussion, I would request all the Members to be brief. If all of you try to be brief, all of you will be able to speak.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: That won't be possible, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It may not be possible for the hon. Member but others may try to be brief.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: (Maharashtra); Sir, My suggestion is that you proceed party-wise.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes. I have marked the names party-wise and I will call party-wise. Does the hon. Minister want to clarify anything?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Nothing much. In any case, budget of Nagaland will have to come before the House and, secondly, the approval of this House is necessary for the Proclamation. Therefore, I may submit that we will have two opportunities.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Khyomo Lotha.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH (Nagaland); Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is most unfortunate that the President has suspended the Legislative Assembly in Nagaland in a most undemocratic and unconstitutional manner.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL (West Bengal): Hear, hear.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH: Sir, the Home Minister has just now given a statement as to what has happened. He clearly said that the parties claiming majority in the Assembly were not given the chance to prove as to who commands the majority. Is it not denial of our constitutional rights? Sir. I will quote the rules and procedure as to the working of the parliamentary system during a crisis. It is the express recommendation of the Presiding Officers of Parliament and State Legislatures (that the question of majority should be thrashed out on the floor of the Assembly or Parliament and should not be left to the discretion of the Head of the State. Then, when the Governor himself assured Mr. Jamir, the leader of the Opposition that he could test his strength on the floor of the House, why was that denied? Now, the Governor's discretion to recommend to the President to suspend the Assembly means waiving of this rule. There is another rule. The Conference of Governors also has laid down certain guide-lines for taking a decision. It is that in case the Assembly is not in session, the Chief Minister who claims the majority, but prima facie if it appears from all available accounts that he has lost the confidence of the Legislature, is to be advised by the Governor to summon the State Assembly to obtain the mandate. But in this case that also is not done.

[Shri Khyomo Lotha]

Sir, what has happened is most unconstitutional and very unfortunate especially in a State like Nagaland. I would like to give a brief historical background as to how the Vizol Government was toppled. The toppling of the Vizol Government was engineered by the Central Government.

AN HON. MEMBER: Hear, hear.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTHAS: Sir, when Mr. MaJaviya asked whether apart from the developmental activities in Nagaland, any propagand has been made to convince the underground Nagas that they should come within the Indian Union and join the national life, the Home Minister said "Yes, there are several elements which are doing it including the NNO, "but never in any speech did he mention that the UDF Government or Vizol was trying to convince his underground friends to come overground. He had never shown the gratitude of mentioning it. This is a clear indication of what was to come. They say they have come to us, they met the Prime Minister and there is a photograph that has been published and they tell the people that the Central Government is only in favour of the NNO. Well, Sir, where have they got this money from to lure MLA's, especially from the district of Tuensang?

Sir, the Vizol Government had 38 members before it was reduced to a minority, but when it was reduced to a minority, Mr. Vizol tendered the resignation of his Ministry according to the parliamentary procedure. When the UDF party was able to regain the majority in a House of 60, with 33 seats, they reported the fact to the Governor as the Home Minister has just now stated.

Now they were ready to claim their strength on the floor of the House. Their number is 33 and the opposition's number is 27 minus 2 because *two* cases of the NNO are pending in the Supreme Court, so these two members cannot vote. Thus the actual strength of the UDF is 33 and NNO

25. With this majority even, they were denied their right because the Speaker himself is in collusion with the NNO, because the Speaker was promised to be given the portfolio of Supply Minister. When he found that the NNO has been reduced to a minority and his government has lost the strength, he used these tactics of adjourning the House sine die. If there was, as reported, unruly behaviour in the House or there was something very bad that re-quired adjournment of the House, he could have adjourned it for some time or may be, for the day but why he adjourned it sine die without passing the Budget is not understood. Sir, it is most unfortunate. We are not happy, the people of Nagaland are not happy that this constitutional, fundamental and basic right should not be given to them to run the Government smoothly. The constitutional right of running the Government has been denied to the people of Nagaland and I am sure there will be agitation and all this will be because of the unwise decision of our Central Government. It is very unfortunate. Sir, that this should have happened. My only demand is, since the Assembly has been suspended, for how long it will remain suspended and in the course of the suspension I would demand a parliamentary delegation to probe into the charges that I have just made that the Central Government has engineered the toppling of this Government. You should also remember the famous proverb: As you sow, so shall you reap. This will boomerang on the Central Government as it has boomeranged on the NNO. Because they encouraged defection it has boomeranged on them.

Now, Sir, this has not only become the Naga political issue but it has become a national political issue and it has to be borne in mind in this context. I am sure I have been able to enlighten the House on this issue and my friends and colleagues here in this House will support us that the suspending of this Nagaland Legislative Assembly is most undemocratic and unconstitutional.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Sir, it is absolutely wrong to say that Shri Vizol's Government has been toppled by the Central Government.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : That is absolutely true, you have done it.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH: If the Central Government has got the guts to deny, let them send a parliamentary delegation to probe into ii.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Now, Sir, you may know a little back-ground. The elections were held in February 1974 in the State of Nagaland. In *fact* at the time when the people of Nagaland went to the polls, I may say, there was very heavy polling.

The NNO and the UDF were the main contesting parties. The NNO polled 35.79 per cent of the votes. You must also know that the population of Nagaland is roughly about five lakhs, a little more or little less.

The polled 1,03,033 votes. They UDF polled 86,739 votes, the percentage being 30.13. The Independents polled 98,106 votes.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Why in U.P. you polled 32 per cent votes and you formed a Government there shamelessly.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: I am just giving some facts for your kind information. The Independents polled 34.08 per cent.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): How many seats the Independents got?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: 12. NNO with 35.79 per cent and 1,03,033 votes got 23 seats. The UDF with 86,739 votes and 30.13 per cent got 25 seats. And the Independents with the strength that I mentioned got 12 seats.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: What is their percentage of votes?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: The percentage is 34.08 for Independents.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH (Nagaland): Sir, the majority in the House has nothing to do with it.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Sir, I am only giving some facts. Whatever conclusions the hon'ble Member may want to draw, he may draw, or may not draw. Now, my submission is that it is obvious. . .

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): What is the percentage of votes of the Party which was ruling?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Sir, I have already said that. And as you know, apart from the number of votes polled, the relative strength of each of the main contestants was: UDF 25 NNO 23 With 12 Independents.

Now, Sir, even though it was a slender majority, the Central Government did not come in the way of the formation of a Ministry by the UDF. Even though it was almost a technical majority, the Governor felt that it might be proper for him to ask the leader of the UDF to take steps to form the Ministry. And even then, as you might know, until 7 Independents were got around by Vizol, they could not form the Ministry. With those 7 Independents, the number came to 32, and then he formed the original Ministry.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH: How could the NNO form the Government without Independents?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Sir, I am only giving certain facts.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Delhi) : We should be thankful for that.

SHRI ;X. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Yes, he should be thankful.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir, the Minister is substantiating our agitation or whatever it is for electoral reform for proportional representation.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : The hon'ble Member should not mix that up with this.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Because then he will go out. His is a minority Government, a minority hoax.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Now, Sir, as you are already aware, Mr. Vizol continued for a year and more as the Chief Minister and the UDF was in power.

It is also incorrect for my friend Mr. Lotha to say that NNO leaders only were meeting the P.M. and the Home Minister. It is not a fact. It is true that some of them met us but also Shri Vizol, Mr. Jamir also and some others of the U.D.F. . .

SHRI V. B. RAJU : And Mr. Lotha also met

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Yes. They met at any rate the Home Minister not less than 3 or 4 times, he had lengthy discussions with them and I must say to the credit of the Governor, Sir, that he did nothing without the advice of the Chief Minister. And, therefore, it is very incorrect to say that the U.D.F. were not given proper encouragement or whatever you may call it, to run the Government in a proper manner. It is also not true to say that the action that the Governor has taken, is unconstitutional or illegal or undemocratic. You may remember that on the 9th March there was defection from the U.D.F. and on the 10th March, the Ministry under the leadership of Mr. Jasokie was formed. Hardly 10 days had elapsed when the defection again took place and, in fact, as has been said by Mr. Lotha, the Governor instead of merely asking the members to go to a certain

place, Raj Bhawan or so, to count heads, thought that it was proper, as I just now said, that the representative strength of each party could be decided on the BOOT of the Assembly. And when the Assembly met on that day, there was huge uproar, pandemonium, everybody taking the floor, talking at each other, and the Speaker adjourned the Assembly *sine die*. And later also, the Governor contacted the Speaker and the Speaker said that in view of these conditions, in view of the fact that his life itself was not safe and in view of the allegations seriously made that several members were held under duress, not being allowed to meet even their wives, he said that it was impossible for him to call a meeting of the Assembly for a month at least.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTHAN : I want a clarification.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Not now. You will have an opportunity.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Therefore, Sir, you are aware, March 31st is very near; the budget has to be passed; the Appropriation Bill has to be passed . . .

SHRI V. B. RAJU : And salaries have to be paid.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Of course, the rest follows. And, therefore, Sir he was compelled to make this recommendation that the Assembly be suspended and President be requested to invoke his powers under Article 356. Now, therefore, Sir, in matters of this type, the question of a Parliamentary probe by a Parliamentary delegation, does not arise. does not absolutely arise . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Because you will be proved in the wrong. That is why it does not arise.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : There should be a Parliamentary probe and it should submit its report within a week.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: I can tell Misraji that our hands are absolutely clean.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Absolutely dirty, black hands.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : And whatever may be the pressure from the opposition, we do not allow our hands to get soiled. Therefore, Sir, my submission is that it was done constitutionally under the circumstances which I have just now explained to the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Lolha, would you want to have any clarification?

SHRI KHYOMO LOTHA : Sir, I would again demand a parliamentary tie-legation to go into this. On that day when the Assembly met there was a large security force guarding the premises of the Assembly. Did the Assembly meet *in camera* and, if so, was a resolution passed to have an *In camera* session? Why were the newsmen and visitors not allowed to enter? Was it democratic and constitutional? What was he saying about pandemonium and hullaboo?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Krishan Kant.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : The situation, as the hon. Minister has pointed out, is simply that the Assembly could not meet and, therefore, the only way out for the Governor was to suspend the Assembly for some time. I think that may be correct, but one thing is clear, whatever may be the justification, the Speaker did not behave properly. This tendency is growing and if the Speakers in different State Assemblies start getting the reputation of being alibis for the Governments, it is a dangerous thing for Parliamentary democracy. He has pointed out that the police was standing outside, but visitors were not allowed. If they said that there was danger to their life, it is completely false and fictitious. Nobody was allowed. This attitude of the Speaker is reprehensible and condemnable and this must be considered by the Coun-

cil of Speakers and Chairman and such a thing should not be allowed. It creates a bad impact on parliamentary democracy. On the impartiality of the Speaker hinges the tender balance of parliamentary democracy. I do not know how it can be condemned and how he could be taken to task. Some *via media* has to be found out whereby Speakers and Chairman could be taken to task. That is No. 1.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Presiding Officers.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: All right. I agree that the situation there was fluid. As reports say six members have defected four times during the last few days. If that is so, it seems the restarting of the game of Ayaramas and Gaya rams in a big way. What happened to our anti-defection Bill? Now, the Assembly has been suspended and I think it is a good thing, so that the UDF could prove its strength in the House. It is not dissolved and I agree with it. Will the Government of India bring forward, the anti-defection Bill in Parliament and pass it before the Assembly is recalled?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:- It is pending for a long time.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Thus all those members who have defected will not be allowed to become Ministers at least for a period of two to five years. So, when the next Government is formed, there will be no defector. You start with a clean state. Will the Government give us some assurance in this respect? Otherwise, the whole parliamentary system will be in danger. We are all involved. It is not a question of the Congress party. All parties are indulging in defection. It is not as if only the Congress party is doing it. All parties are indulging in it. In order to clarify the situation that is developing in the country and especially in Nagaland, before the Nagaland Assembly is resumed, a special session of Parliament may have to be called and the anti-defection Bill "one through. Will the Government guarantee this? Lastly, we sav

[Shri Krishan Kant]

what happened in Gujarat, how MI.As were taken to the Panchavati farm and kept hidden there. The game of gun-power and manpower is playing havoc in Nagaland. Nothing is barred. It may vary in extent. What steps will the Government take, in consultation with the opposition parties, to see that such games will not be allowed anywhere either gun-power or manpower-so that members are safe and they will not be lifted.' When parliamentary democracy is being threatened, something should be done, so that this game cannot be played. At present you are talking of Nagaland, but it is a national problem. For this also some consultation with the opposition parties and all concerned in the country should be held, so that this type of gun-power is not there.

I would like him to answer these questions.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Sir, I am sorry that Shri Krishan Kant has come down heavily on the Speaker. But it would not be appropriate for me or for the Government to question the conduct of the Speaker.

SHRI SARDAR AMIAD ALI (West Bengal): Sir, I want to get a clarification from the Minister whether this House has a right to discuss the activity of the Speaker of any Assembly. Would you kindly clarify this position?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: When the question of parliamentary democracy is at stake, we have a right to discuss that.

SHRI SARDAR AMIAD ALI: I would like to have a clarification from the J Chair whether this House has any right.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is not for me to give a ruling. I leave it to the sense of the Members.

SHRI SARDAR AMIAD ALI: I want some ruling on this.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: There cannot be any ruling on this point.'

SHRI SARDAR AMIAD ALI: If any Member suggests that there is a suspicion arising in the whole country with regard to Parliamentary democracy, I do not know whether he is from my party or the opposite party. This is also another strategy of creating a suspicion when you raise this point as to the activity of any Speaker. That is the strategy—raising suspicion about parliamentary activity. That is why I insist on getting a ruling from you as to whether this House has got any right. There are constitutional methods. I am not getting any clarification from this side.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In such matters, it is better that the Members use their discretionary power not to bring down the prestige of the presiding officers. Mr. Reddy, you may reply.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY: Therefore, Sir, I say that it would be inappropriate and unwise for me to question the conduct of the Speaker. The speaker would have acted in his discretion, in his wisdom, seeing the circumstances prevailing there. So far as the Defection Bill is concerned, as the hon. Members are already aware, it is before the Joint Select Committee. I wish they finish their labours quickly, and it is for Parliament, both the House, to decide when that has to be brought forward for discussion in the Houses.

Now, Sir, I am not here trying to measure the Speaker's duties and I do not want to go into that, either. It is a wider subject, the conduct of the Presiding Officers, etc.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Sir, the third point was this. When the game of abducting members and taking them away is there, will the Government consider how the whole thing can be stopped? That is what I want. Will he try to discuss this and create a norm?

DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD (Kerala) : Sir, I would invite your attention to Rule 238, clause, (v) —

"A member while speaking shall not—

(v) reflect upon the conduct of persons in high authority unless the discussion is based on a substantive motion drawn in proper terms;"

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : What a discovery !

DR. V. A. SEYID MUHAMMAD : Sir, clause (iii) also says that a member shall not—

"(iii) use offensive expressions about the conduct or proceedings of the Houses or any State Legislature;"

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : The *mala fide* conduct of the Speaker is sought to be defended by the party. It only strengthens the suspicion that you are involved.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Some of them are doing so. We know they are doing so.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The main question is hon'ble Members will have to keep in view how to respect (he Presiding Officers. It is no use quoting rules. All that we have to do is we must act and show liy our behaviour that v.e behave well Mr. Mathur.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : सभापति जी, आप ने जैसा कहा, वह बहुत उचित बात है, लेकिन मेरा एक सीधा सा प्रश्न है। आप एक राज्य में मुख्य मंत्री रह चुके हैं, आप एक राज्य के गवर्नर भी रह चुके हैं और आज आप यहाँ सभापति के आसन पर विराजमान हैं और उपराष्ट्रपति होने के नाते आप को एक्जीक्यूटिव पावर्स भी प्राप्त हैं। लेकिन यदि किसी राज्य में चारों शक्तियाँ मिल जायें तो वहाँ प्रजातंत्र या डेमोक्रेसी कैसे कायम रह सकती है। ऐसा कहकर मैं किसी पद की निन्दा नहीं करता

लेकिन यदि इस प्रकार के पदों पर रहने वाले व्यक्ति मिल कर कोई षडयंत्र करते हैं तो उस का परिणाम क्या होगा इस को सदन स्वयं सोच सकता है और आप पूरी तरह उसे कपास कर सकते हैं शायद यही स्थिति नागालैंड में हुई है और उस को आप भी समझ सकते हैं। आप कह सकते हैं कि हम को गवर्नर के कंट्रोल की शिकायत नहीं करनी चाहिये। लेकिन 1967 में एक स्पीकर्स कॉन्फरेंस हुई थी और उस में एक निर्णय लिया गया था कि मेजरिटी या माजोरिटी का जो टेस्ट होगा वह सदन के अंदर होगा। अब इस में दोनों व्यक्ति आ जाते हैं। वहाँ के स्पीकर भी इस में आ जाते हैं और वहाँ के गवर्नर भी इस में आ जाते हैं। तो मैं गवर्नर को इस बात के लिये आलोचना करना हूँ कि उन को इस बात का निर्देश स्पीकर को देना चाहिये था कि अगर आप ने असेम्बली को साइनडाई स्वगति कर दिया है तो हम इस को प्रोरोग नहीं करेंगे और आप दुबारा असेम्बली बुला कर वहाँ इस बात का टेस्ट करायें कि मेजरिटी किस की है। यह काम गवर्नर ने नहीं किया। तो इस का मतलब यह है कि -वह दोनों मिल गये। इतना ही नहीं, हमारे देश में इस प्रकार के उदाहरण हैं कि जिन से वहाँ के गवर्नर निर्देश दे सकते थे। बंगाल में इसी प्रकार की घटना हुई थी। धर्मबीर जी वहाँ के गवर्नर थे और वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री एक निश्चित तिथि पर वहाँ की विधान सभा को बुलाना चाहते थे, लेकिन गवर्नर ने कहा कि नहीं, विधान सभा को उसके पहले बुलाओ। मुख्य मंत्री विधान सभा को पहले नहीं बुलाना चाहते थे तो उस स्थिति में सारी वहाँ की विधान सभा को भंग कर दिया गया। तो गवर्नर उन को फोर्स कर सकता था। बंगाल का गवर्नर तो बंगाल की विधान सभा को भंग कर सकता है लेकिन यहाँ का गवर्नर कुछ नहीं करता। और सभापति महोदय, वहाँ का गवर्नर सरकार का सीनियर अफसर है, सरकार के हाथ में कठपुतली की तरह है। जैसा काम चाहे केन्द्रीय सरकार उस से करवा सकती है। इसी-लिये वहाँ की यह स्थिति हुई है और वहाँ के गवर्नर, वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री और वहाँ के विधान सभा के अध्यक्ष ने मिल कर यह सब किया है।

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर]
गवर्नर ने कह दिया कि उसको सस्पेंड कर दीजिये और इसी पर हमारी घोर आपत्ति है। हमारे गृह मंत्री उस राज्य से आ रहे हैं कि जहां विधान सभा को भंग नहीं किया गया। राजू साहब भी उसी राज्य के हैं। वहां उस समय वह स्थिति थी कि जिसमें वहां की सरकार नहीं चल सकती थी और विधान सभा को भंग होना चाहिये था। लेकिन वहां उसे भंग न करके सस्पेंड किया गया इस लिये कि किसी तरह से कांग्रेस के आन्तरिक झगड़ों को साल्व करके फिर प्रेमेश्वली को बुला लिया जाय।

श्री बी. बी० राजू: वह सस्पेंड है, भंग नहीं है।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर: मैं यही कह रहा हूँ कि वह भंग क्यों नहीं की गई? वहां तो नए चुनाव होने चाहिये थे। राजस्थान में भी कांग्रेस का बहुमत नहीं था। वहां राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया और 1967 में विधान सभा को भंग न करके केवल उसे सस्पेंड किया गया ताकि मुख्तार जी किसी तरह से एम० एल० एज० को खरीद लें और अपना बहुमत बना लें। इसके लिये वहां को विधान सभा को सस्पेंड किया गया और यही आज नागालैंड में भी किया गया है। अगर वह वहां की विधान सभा को भंग कर देने तो उसका डिसेल्ड हो जाता और वहां की स्थिति कुछ माफ़तौर से समझ में आ सकती थी कि वहां पर दुबारा चुनाव होंगे। लेकिन वहां कांग्रेस और एन० एन० ओ० के परस्पर कुछ संबंध हैं और किसी प्रकार से वह वहां के एम० एल० एज० को दुबारा खरीद सकें केवल इस नाते वहां की विधान सभा को सस्पेंड किया गया है, मनुष्य जब मूर्च्छित हो जाता है तो उसको संजीवनी दी जाती है और वह होश में आ जाता है, लक्ष्मण जी जब मूर्च्छित हो गए थे तो हनुमान जी उनके लिये संजीवनी लाये थे। अब यहां नागालैंड की विधान सभा को मूर्च्छित किया गया है और अब उसको रेड्डी साहब संजीवनी बूटी देंगे। कुछ एम० एल० एज० के

लिये यहां से पैसा जायेगा और उनको फिर से खरीदा जायेगा और इस प्रकार से पैसों की संजीवनी देकर उस विधान सभा को फिर से पुनर्जीवित किया जायेगा। सभापति महोदय, इस संबंध में कृष्णकान्त जी ने कहा कि डिफ़ेंशन वाला बिल यहां जल्दी ही आना चाहिये।

लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि आपकी पार्टी यहां आने वाली नहीं है। अभी एक सरकार और बची है डी० एम० के० की सरकार बची है मद्रास के अन्दर, उसको भी गिराने का आप प्रयत्न करेंगे।

सभापति महोदय, हमको नागालैंड के प्रश्न को एक संवैधानिक दृष्टि से देखना है। वहां की जो दूसरी स्थिति है जिसके बारे में सरकार बड़ी चर्चा करती है कि वहां सभाध्यक्ष को भी खतरा हो गया, मुख्य मंत्री को भी खतरा हो गया अंडर-ग्राउंड नामा लोगों ने इस प्रकार की स्थिति पैदा कर दी, वहां तक स्थिति कोई नहीं थी। जो वहां यू० डी० एफ० की सरकार थी उसके खिलाफ इस प्रकार के आरोप नहीं थे। उन्होंने स्वयं भी कहा था, और जब श्री दीक्षित जी गृह मंत्री थे उन्होंने भी स्वीकार किया था कि वहां शांति और व्यवस्था कायम रखने के लिये वहां की सरकार है। लेकिन यह कहना कि उनका संबंध था, इस नाते से यू० डी० एफ० और एन० एन० ओ० में फर्क करना ठीक नहीं है। अगर कोई अंडर-ग्राउंड कार्यवाही होती है, देश के हितों के विरुद्ध कुछ होता है तो हम इसमें भी सरकार का साथ देना चाहते हैं कि इस प्रकार की अराष्ट्रीय कार्यवाहियों को रोकने के लिये सरकार कार्यवाही करे। लेकिन वर्तमान कार्यवाही से किस प्रकार के राजनीतिक मतभेद उन्होंने पैदा करने का प्रयत्न किया और इन गतिविधियों के नाम पर राजनीतिक स्वार्थ सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न किया, इससे वहां पर शांति और व्यवस्था नहीं हो सकती। उल्टा लोगों में अनरेस्ट और कंप्यूजन क्रियेट करने की केन्द्रीय सरकार ने कार्यवाही की है। इस कांड में अगर कोई दोषी है तो केन्द्रीय सरकार है, कांग्रेस पार्टी है, जिन्होंने अपनी पार्टी की सत्ता बनाने के लिये एम० एल० एज० को खरीदने

के लिये कंस्टीट्यूशन का दुरुपयोग किया। जो कंस्टीट्यूशन के निर्माता थे उन्होंने कंस्टीट्यूशन असेम्बली में भी सस्पेंशन के बारे में चर्चा नहीं की। तो इस नई व्यवस्था को लाकर उन्होंने जिस प्रकार सत्ता का दुरुपयोग किया, इसके लिये केंद्रीय सरकार की, वहाँ के गवर्नर की, वहाँ के स्पीकर की कड़े शब्दों में निन्दा होनी चाहिये।

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : I would request my hon. friend to know this fact also that there is no Congress Party as such in Nagaland.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : But there is a protege. The NNO is your protege. Everybody knows it.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Now I would not go into the other matters which he has mentioned. He covered the entire country and said something, to which I am not just now prepared to answer. I would just read a passage from what the Governor has to say.

"The Speaker met me this afternoon at my request and I sought from him fuller elucidation of the extraordinary step he had taken in adjourning the House *sine die*. I further enquired from him as to when the House would resume its sittings. His answer was to the following effect:

'The excitement in the House, which was the immediate cause of the adjournment, was a reflection of the acute tension that had been created as a result of the recent defections and confinement of a number of NNO members at the house of Shri Shurbozelie. He had received warnings through his own men about a likely attempt on his life by the underground supporters of the UDF, and there was also danger to the lives of some of those who had been kept at Shri Shurbozelie's house again their will in case they acted¹ according to their free choice.'

He proceeded to say that he was not willing to take the risks involved unless he himself, and all other members of the Legislature, could function with complete freedom and move about with full sense of security. I pointed out to him that a vote on account had to be taken and the related "Appropriation Bill to be passed before 1st April, if the functioning of the Nagaland¹ Government was not to be paralysed from that date because of non-authorisation of expenditure. This, I said, would be possible only if the Assembly could restart sittings within the next few days. His answer was that he was fully cognisant of the constitutional implications but that he had made up his mind not to resume sittings of the Assembly for about a month, as, in his judgment, that was the period necessary for the tension to die down, and normal atmosphere to be re-created."

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Lakshmanan.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, this act of the Government is an uncivilized attack *on* the democratic institutions in this country. It can be termed as a civilized savagery in a democratic system. Sir, this is not the first time or the first occasion that the biggest party in India, the Congress Party, has behaved in this manner with regard to the Opposition parties running the Governments in the various States

[MR. DEPUTY Chairman in the Chair]

Sir, from the year 1967 onwards, when so many parties formed¹ their Governments in the various States, this Congress Party had been swallowing all the other parties which were there in this country and its abdomen was so big in 1971 that it burst and the Congress itself got split. . . .

AN HON. MEMBER : Then what happened?

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : You will see in 1976 as to what is going to happen to you.

[Shri G. Lakshmanan] Sir, so many parties formed the governments in the different States. But the MLA's of those parties were purchased by the Congress Party. And, Sir, here also, in Nagaland, this one month period is there and, you know, what is going to happen? Now, negotiations should be going on there through the Governor to purchase some people who have defected or who have gone out and that is why this one month period has been given. Is it a democratic thing at all? Are we doing things in a democratic way? We see governments elected through the ballot. But as soon as they are elected through the ballot, our attempts are, our methods are to use the bullet. Their method is the method of the bullet and this is how they have swept clean so many Governments. Even with regard to the DMK in Tamil Nadu Sir, I say that it is the only party which has been containing from the year 1967 in spite of so many mischievous acts done by the Central Government. The latest speech made by the honourable Finance Minister, Shri C. Subramaniam, is a reflection of this attitude by the Centre towards the State Governments which are run by the Opposition parties or else. Sir, he would not have made that kind of a statement. Another thing, Sir. This is the only Opposition party Government in India. Of course, in Kerala, there is an alliance and there is a coalition Ministry there...

SHRI JAGAN NATH BHARDWAJ :
When you attack us, we will also have to attack you. ..

(Interruption)*

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : But, when you attack us, you will also die. You will see that.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Lakshmanan, please ignore the interruptions and continue with your speech.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : Therefore, Sir, they are trying to put an end even to this Government, the DMK Government.

in Tamil Nadu. You know, Sir, that they are telling the people that the people have become violent these days and so on. I hold the Congress party responsible for these violent acts that are done in the country now and they have not allowed the people to have a democratic existence in the country and that is why these violent happenings are taking place in the country. If such violent things are happening in the country, it is because of the Congress party and their methods of ruling. As far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, Sir, you will be surprised to know that the late Shri Mohan Kumarmangalam and Shri K. K. Ganesh were responsible for preparing the corruption charges against the State Government in Tamil Nadu and, with the co-operation of an actor there. Sir, they handed over the memorandum to the President. Sir, today, you must know that they are trying to put an end to the Tamil Nadu Government also by having some alliance with the ADMK, led by the actor, Shri M.G. Ramachandran. ..

SHRI V. B. RAJU : Sir, I think we must have another Calling-Attention Motion for discussing these things.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN : And, Sir, that actor poses himself as the leader of a political party and is coming here and seeing the Prime Minister and interviews are granted to him for thirty or forty minutes and the Prime Minister does not say what she spoke to him and lie goes back and tells there. "I have seen the Prime Minister and I have spoken to her to save democracy". This is how this Government is behaving in relation to the Opposition parties and this one month period is only, Sir, to kill democracy in Nagaland. You know what they will do. They have done it previously and their history is so bad and so indecent. Sir, I need not mention it here : Now, negotiations must be going on with those MLAs and they would be purchased for one lakh or two lakhs or five lakhs of rupees and they have not enough money to purchase. About 67 lakhs can be brought from the

Reserve Bank of India or the State Bank of India by some Nagarwalas. Of course, Mr. Nagarwala is no more. And therefore they will be able to purchase all these MLAs. That is why they have asked for this one-month period. We have been asking since the time of Independence that Governors should not be there in this country. When elected government is there why should there be a Governor? And the Governor is a representative of the Central Government, at times he belongs to the Congress Party itself and that is why they are able to do all these things. Therefore, I say that this is a naked attack on the democratic institution by the Congress Party. For the past 25 years if you trace their history, they have not behaved and, therefore, I condemn their this action. I demand that the Government should be allowed to function there, the assembly be convened, whoever has got the actual strength must be allowed to form the government and run the government.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :
Sir, I do not know what to reply because he has gone away right from Nagaland to Tamil Nadu.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : In your reply you take him back to Nagaland.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :
Sir, it is true that after the 1967 elections various coalition governments have come into being in some States but I may tell Mr. Lakshmanan that those governments fell of their own inherent contradictions, their own different ideologies, their own personal differences.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : What justification did you have to suspend the Assembly? Why are you trying to hide that position?

MR, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr, Niren Ghosh, let him reply to Mr. Lakshmanan.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : It is also a pointer to show that even if in any time these groups with various different ideologies, programmes, personal ambitions etc. came together, they could go on for long; that is what we have experienced in this country.

Now, Sir, I think the Central Government is as kind to Tamil Nadu as to any other State Government and, if I may say so, is kinder to Tamil Nadu than even to any Congress Government because the Government there is headed by a party different from the Congress and we do not want to make them feel in any other manner. *(Interruptions)*. If a Government is to fall by its own weaknesses, nobody can help it. That is a different matter.

Now, Sir, unfortunately he has been very uncharitable to the Governor of Nagaland. I thought the hon. Member would have benefited from the passage I read. The Governor took every step to see that everything was done properly. In fact, Sir, Mr. Vizol during his term of office had only praise for the conduct of the Governor.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Because he had obeyed your dictum.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY :
Therefore, just to snatch this opportunity to make some uncharitable remarks against the attitude of the Governor or the conduct of the Governor is unfair. In my opinion he has acted in the most constitutional manner. Regarding institution of Governors you may have a different opinion, that is a different matter.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It is the biggest colonial rule.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : I do not want to dilate on that subject just now and you may also incidentally know, Sir, that the Speaker, Mr. Scato Swu, has been elected on the UDF support originally and he was elected Speaker by the UDF. *(Interruptions)*.

2 P. M.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Shri 1
okanath Misra.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Sir, in a democracy nobody should be above the law. He may be (he Governor or the Speaker of a particular Assembly or he may be anybody else. Everybody must conform to the law of the land or he does not deserve any kind of dignity, howsoever high position he might be holding. In this case, we were advised by the hon. Home Minister that uncharitable remarks should not be made against anybody. I think he could have been justified in his statement when it pertains to the Governor. But the most uncharitable statements against the Speaker of Nagaland would not be enough for him. According to the statement, the Governor made some initial attempts to reconvene the House as soon as possible in order to allow the Government to go through the constitutional obligation of passing the budget. But the Speaker took the stand that it was impossible for him to contain the House. You must be aware and you must be experienced also by now that sometimes we have some kind of chaos, confusion and even feelings of resentment by the Opposition against the ruling party. But this thing has never convinced any other presiding officer in the country to adjourn the House *sine die*. In this case, the Speaker of Nagaland too much relied on the advice of the outgoing and defeated Chief Minister. Sir, the point is extremely clear. There were 27 Members sitting with the Government in the Treasury Benches and there were 33 Members sitting in the Opposition Benches, as has been reported in all the newspapers. The newspaper representatives would not have collected any information this way or that. They did so because they are extremely impartial in this country. If we go according to that, it has been convincingly proved that the ruling party there, the N.N.O., had lost the majority while the U.D.F. had already got the majority on the floor of the House. Therefore, the Speaker did not probably feel that it would be advisable in the interest of the ruling party, the N.N.O., to allow the voting to take place and ad-

joined the House altogether immediately. Now, Sir, the point is very clear that the Speaker has patently acted in a partisan manner which he should not have done if he had wanted to retain the dignity of the Chair. He should have behaved in a better way. If somebody whether he is the Speaker or anybody else, misbehaves in the Chair, he does not deserve to be in the Chair. He has to be pulled out because we have to see that nobody soils the Chair. Whenever anybody tries to soil the Chair, it is the democratic responsibility of every citizen in India to pull him out of the Chair which he is intending to soil. Therefore, we must view this from this point of view. If we view it from that point of view, I think the Speaker has acted in a patently partisan manner which he should not have done (*time bell rings*). Sir, I would like to know what is the particular purpose of adjourning the House for a month and how did the Speaker assess that he would be able to preside over the Assembly or a sober Assembly after a month. Did he expect the resentment or the confusion or the chaotic condition to take a month to cool down or to subside? What gave him that impression that it would take a month? May be, the next day, if he had convened the Assembly, it would have been sober, completely sober, provided he had acted in a non-partisan manner.

Sir, the last point I would like to make is this. Suppose all the 33 members belonging to the U.D.F. submitted a memorandum to the Governor, would he be allowed by the Central Government to function independently and to ask them to form the government? Initially, the Governor was acting in a very non-partisan manner and independently. Subsequently, probably, some kind of a telephonic conversation or some kind of persuasion must have weighed upon him to change his attitude in recommending for a Proclamation. Now, Sir, would he be allowed to independently function if he gets a memorandum signed by 33 members from the UDF, so that they could be sworn into the Government? Would that be made possible by the Central Government? And if that is not possible, then

what is the purpose in hanging the Assembly in suspended animation? Let them dissolve it. Let them go in for a fresh poll. That would probably be the most relevant action after all that wrong that has been done to Nagaland. As it is, Nagaland, is an extremely sensitive area. All of us know that it is a sensitive area. Therefore, the people of Nagaland should be allowed to reflect their opinion through a fresh election. And it is no use keeping the present Assembly in suspended animation when you would not allow the majority party to form a government.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Sir, it is true that Nagaland is a very sensitive area and we have also been hearing and seeing in the newspaper reports about the activities of the insurgents and their sending their people outside to a foreign country and getting the arms, etc. We have also been keen that also in mind. Sir, you may also know that the elections to the Assembly were held just a year ago, in February 1974. And just now to think of dissolving the Assembly and ordering fresh elections may not be proper in view of the huge expenses involved, and in addition to meeting effectively the insurgent activity. Sir, the Chief Minister was defeated on the floor of the House. Sir, you are also aware, as I have read from the Governor's report, that the Governor did, in fact, make *bona fide* attempts to see that the Assembly is convened so that the trial of strength could take place. Unfortunately, he could not succeed. And the Speaker said that until normal conditions exist where members of the Assembly have the absolute freedom to exercise their free will, it would not be possible. . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Just one point. Is it not a fact that all the members were present in the Assembly when the House was adjourned? That is number one. And if that is so, how do we believe the statement of the outgoing Chief Minister that ten of them were held somewhere illegally? How is it possible when they were all present in the Assembly? Does it not

amount to falsehood for the outgoing Chief Minister to say that they were detained somewhere.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : No. Sir. You should not look at it that way. Now, Sir, the question is whether the . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : How did you get edged out from Andhra Pradesh? Have you been driven out of Andhra Pradesh?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Very good. I am not the loser for it.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Since you are given a good berth here.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Sir, I am only just trying to tell the hon. Members not to look at it from your point of view or from our point of view but to look at it from a proper perspective, from a proper point of view. The main fact to be seen is whether the situation is such where the Members are in a position to exercise their free will and choice; that is the main point.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Did the Speaker ascertain it?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : The Speaker had . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Did the Speaker ascertain it in the Assembly?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : That is not a matter for me. That is a matter for the Speaker.

Now, Sir, my friend, Mr. Lakshmanan, raised the point—I did not answer him—it is also very unkind of Mr. Lakshmanan to say, that the Governor is trying to persuade the Members to go from this side to that side. That is very wrong, Sir, and that attempt the Governor never made and will not make. That is outside his responsibilities or duties. Therefore, we have to take it, Sir, that the Governor acted in the

[Shri K. Brahmananda Reddy] best interests of the State. He tried his best and when he could not, he was compelled to recommend this kind of action.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Scato Swu.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Sir, I also want to speak.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, I will call the Members in the order in which I have got the names.

SHRI SCATO SWU (Nominated) : Sir, I would like to draw the attention of my friends on the Opposition Benches and I may also inform the House that the present United Democratic Front of Nagaland is the child of the Democratic Party of Nagaland. They have changed the Party's name three times. It was first called the Democratic Party, then it was called the United Front of Nagaland and later it was given the name of the United Democratic Front of Nagaland. When I was an underground, this Nagaland United Front and we drafted the manifesto together and all of us are still alive; myself, my brother-in-law, who was the Prime Minister of the Federal Government of Nagaland, Mr. J. K. Sukhi, Mr. Lungshim, who is not underground, Mr. Tajen, an M.L.A. in the U.D.F., Mr. Ramyo, underground Minister without portfolio and Mr. Vizol, the ex-Chief Minister at Peace Camp Chedema. I am very much convinced and very much sure that the U.D.F. Party is very much working on the lines of the manifesto drawn by us. In that manifesto it was not written down but then they assured us that when they came to power, they would give us all moral and material support and half of the money that they secured from the Government of India would be given to us, *i.e.*, if they got Rs. 1 lakh from the Government, Rs. 50,000 would be given to the underground side. That was very much justified. Actually, I do not belong to any political party in Nagaland.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Were they justified in giving the money !'

SHRI SCATO SWU : They give money when there is much agitation; they give money, they supply rice, flour, and what not.

I do not belong to any political party in Nagaland. But I am certainly interested in the welfare of the people and in the economic development of the State. It is for this reason that I advocate strongly that Nagaland should have a spell of peace and have a stable Government.

Sir, the situation in Nagaland, at the moment, is fluid. Within ten days of its forming a Government, NNO had to face a peculiar situation. A number of MLAs belonging to NNO, under duress, were made to cross the floor. The NNO Government, which was making endeavours to bring the Naga people into the main-stream of India's national life, is now facing hurdles. The Speaker had adjourned the Assembly *sine die* and the budget for the year could not be presented by the Government.

The Speaker's action of having declared the House adjourned *sine die* is very much justified because there are certain MLAs who had been threatened by certain elements that unless they returned to this party they would not see their families or that their life would be in danger. And they cannot expose this thing. So, as I said at the outset of my speech, I would very much request the Opposition Parties not to criticise the Government policy without knowing the facts and the prevailing situation in Nagaland when some MLAs are trying their best to dis-integrate the country. Would you welcome such an idea ? So, I very much appeal to the Opposition Parties especially their leaders, not to criticise the Government without knowing the facts.

Now it is time to weigh the performance of the Government which ruled Nagaland

before the NNO took over. There are reports that a large number of loyal Government servants were transferred as punishment. There are also reports of Government employees being repeatedly transferred from place to place to satisfy the caprice and whims of those in power. Con-slimiumai methods and democratic procedures were given a go-by. People got frustrated and disappointed. The UDF leaders made tall promises but failed to implement them. Economic life in the State was made unstable, disparity and economic imbalance were multiplied. Whereas stability was required for progress, the Governmental acuities only increased discontent among people.

Another important objective, that of establishing a rapport with the underground section, could not be achieved by the UDF. The task of bringing a section of under-ground leaders who were willing to come overground to join the mainstream of the national life was deliberately not encouraged. All these are reflected in the downfall of the UDF Government. It is found that some MLAs of Nagaland are not capable of Living up their habit of behaving as "Ayarani" and "Ciayaram" alternatively and therefore the Government of India shall have to find some way to give the Naga a stable administration which may have continuity. It is only such an administration which can take care of the economic I He in the State, give protection to loyal Government servants and remove frustration and disappointment which are spreading among the people of the State very rapidly.

It is not a secret that the UDF Government was voted to power with the support of underground elements. In Nagaland they tell the public that all army activities and jungle operations are done by NNO, but when they come to Delhi they say every administrative work is done by them.

We just cannot understand their policy.

We do not want to have a double faced polic) (*Time Bell rings*). So, I would now like to know from the Flome

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Minister as to whether the action of the Speaker is justified or not. in declaring the House adjourned *sine die*.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Mr. Scato Swu. who comes from Nagaland. is a very knowledgeable person. He was underground. He knows the entire situation thoroughly. In his emotional situation he has appealed to hon. Members sitting in the Opposition to appreciate the situation in Nagaland and not to treat it as a party matter. And what is being done in several ways also he has in a number of ways pointed out. I only say that they may be taken into your consideration.

The point is that it is true that Nagaland has got a very sizable allotment for the Plan development, apart from the ordinary revenue expenditure. The State of Nagaland which has only roughly 5 lakhs people has a plan, if I remember aright, in 1975-76 of about Rs. 15 crores. But I am sorry to say that the benefit of this expenditure has not reached the people to the extent it should. That is also a fact which has got to be noted. Whatever the difficulties may be, that is a different matter. I do not want to go into that now. But the vast majority of people of Nagaland want peace and speedy development. In fact. Sir our attempt should be to see that money is expended *property* so that the benefits can reach the people, so that people can live in peace and progress is made. Therefore, I agree with Mr. Scot Swu that an effort should be made for speedy development of the area.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI NIK EN GHOSH (West Benaal): Sir. . . .

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH A (Nagaland) : Sir, . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTH A : Please give me two minutes. There have been . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No. You have already had your say.

SHRI KHYOMO LOTHIA : There have been charges made against my party and there has been character assassination. I have to . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : There has been no character assassination. Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I would only remind you, Sir, that we wanted a short duration discussion. Is it or is it not a fact that the action taken by the Central Cabinet is a violent rape of the bourgeois-landlord constitution that they themselves are supposed to hold sacred?

The Constitution is bourgeois landlord. Even that bourgeois Constitution we try to uphold whereas you are trampling under feet all the canons of that Constitution also. Is it or is not a fact that one lakh security forces have been stationed there? If not, what is the number?

AN HON'BLE MEMBER : Because of the uneasy situation.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Under such conditions, can there be any really free and fair election? In West Bengal, parliamentary democracy is dead since 1972.

SHRI I. T. SINGH (Manipur) : You started killing.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It is as dead as mutton. It will recoil on you some day in such a way that you never dream of.

Now, Sir, even the figures quoted by the Minister himself justify our contention for electoral reform for proportional representation, and the right to recall. Even from those figures, it is revealed that the UDF Government did have a majority of the votes cast in the with the Independents. Now, Sir, the UDF Chief Minister Vizol has openly alleged that their members and

those Independents were hijacked away, put under restraint. Now, is it or is it not a fact that the Ministry there does not enjoy any power? Really it is ruled by the Secretary to the Governoi. The Governor is in Shillong or somewhere else, and it is his Secretary who runs it. It is a powerless Ministry. Even though the Vizol Government pleaded for understanding and peace with the underground, frond the very beginning, time and again from the utterances of the centra] Ministers it appeared that you were not able and did not want to tolerate that Government. That fact remains. So when you alleged that the Speaker said that some members were under duress, he was saying so because of the pressure of the Governor, the Secretary and the Central Cabinet. Now, is it a fact or not that as it came out in the newspapers that the Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet was—and is—contemplating Presidential Rule! Today you come and you confirm it. Does it or does it not mean that all this is a cooked up affairs? Instructions had gone from the centre to the Governor and accordingly the Speaker has behaved in this way. His behaviour cannot be explained by the fact that he was elected by the UDF. With the one lakh security forces raping girls every day, surrounding villages, no democracy, no freedom, nothing of that sort prevails there. When such is the condition, the entire Naga people have been held down under gun point by the security forces. That is the exact situation. How can this Speaker's prattlings come true when he has behaved in an atrocious manner? And does it not justify that the institution of the Governors should be done away with and it should be put in a museum as a relic of the British colonial rule? Then, Sir, I would say that almost all the Governors of India are the stooges of the Central Cabinet or the Political Affairs Committee, or of the Prime Minister. This is an accusation that I openly make with full responsibility.

They are behaving like that. Now, Sir, let the Minister explain when members of the U.D.F. were hijacked by force or terror and the N.N.O. claimed a majority,

immediately they were called upon to form a Ministry but now when the U.D.F. had 33 members in the Chamber itself, present they were not called upon to form a Ministry immediately. He has suspended or dissolved the Assembly and the Presidential proclamation is given. So the entire Naga people are being suppressed as the people have been suppressed in my state, people were suppressed in Jammu and Kashmir State. In 20 years, the Government have not yet been able to solve the Naga problem with the military rule there. There is no Government worth the name. They have no power. Will (he Government consider or not that in order to solve the Naga problem, the military suppression should go, the brutalities should go and peaceful negotiations should begin. Short of secession, the Government should go to the farthest limit to satisfy their national aspirations. That is the motive factor behind insurgency. These Naga people feel their national rights are being taken away by force, by brutal force. I repeat that, «hort of secession, you should go to the farthest limit in order to satisfy them and EOTve the problem. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now you wind up.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : Sir, he made a point about Mr. Scato Swu. I know he was for 18 years the President of the underground federal government but he has crossed over. So he has been nominated by the Government. I am all praise for the sufferings he has undergone in the past. But at present, he cannot speak for the Naga people. I am sorry that...

(Interruption by Shri Scato Swu)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Niren Ghosh, that was unwarranted.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : ..I am sorry to make this comment. He has

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : It was rather unwarranted; nor can you speak about Naga people.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : He is a nominated member. Sir. That is why I said it. Had he been an elected member, I would not have said. He is a nominated member by the Congress Party.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You wind up now.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I plead for a Parliamentary delegation. Let them go and investigate into the mischief of the Governor. Centre's credibility is at stake throughout India, in all States. Full autonomy should be given to all the States in India.'..

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, I now call the Minister, Mr. Niren Ghosh.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : And Presidential rule should be revoked and Assembly should be the only authority which can decide, not the Minister, or the Governor or the Speaker or anybody else. It is thoroughly undemocratic.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I call upon the Minister now.

SHRI K. BRAHMANAND REDDY : Sir, I have not as much vocabulary as my friend Mr. Niren Ghosh has...

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER : You need not to have it.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : We are generally hearing it in his whole outburst. Now, Sir, for Mr. Scato he has a word of praise. He is a Naga; he comes from Nagaland; he knows the entire situation and for Mr. Niren Ghosh *to* claim to know more than Mr. Scato is assuming too much.

Now, it is not as if the Governor rules the country. The relations between Naga land and the Centre are guided by Article 371 or 371A, something like that, of the Constitution. The Governor has some special responsibility which is only limited. For the rest, the Ministry is in full power here...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You should try to answer my point. You have not solved the so-called Nagaland State problem with whatever power there. Naga problem has not been solved that way and will not be solved.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That is matter of opinion.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : The Nagaland problem will get solved. So long as Mr. Niren Ghosh does not go out of his way and give encouragement to the insurgent forces, that would be helpful.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I support the national democratic aspirations of all the people of India.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : The allegations that he has made against the security forces are absolutely untrue. I am very sorry....

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : True and I will prove it. Let a parliamentary delegation go. I take full responsibility to prove it.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Mr. Niren Ghosh is there any subject under the sun which you have not claimed to prove ?'

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : That I have never done. Get the records.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Even in this House, in my short duration here, I have heard you many times saying that you are prepared to prove this and that. ...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : You have also many times said that. The traffic is both ways.

(Interruption)

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : I am absolutely unequal to him in the matter of making allegations. Now, Sir, as has been said before by me and the Prime Minister, the security forces are doing a very difficult and delicate task and

ill of us should have a word of praise for them.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : They besmirch the fair name of India.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You cannot be making your comment on every sentence of the Home Minister.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : In fact, we should give them our support and strength. I wish to submit to the House and to Mr. Niren Ghosh in particular that baseless and false allegations should not be made. I am also aware, whenever some instances came to the notice of the authorities, very deterrent action was taken. To generalise that and then to condemn the entire security forces, which are doing a difficult job, is absolutely wrong. Therefore, I would again submit to Mr. Niren Ghosh in particular and to his party also...

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : I daresay Mr. Scato also, as he was the President of the Underground for eighteen years, would be able to give you many instances, if he chooses to.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : That is all right. Whatever they may say, they have a right to say. Nagaland is a sensitive area and it would be very wrong of them to baselessly condemn the action of the security forces.

SHRI VEERENDRA PATH. [Karnataka] : After hearing Mr. Scato, my apprehensions are confirmed that the action of the Central Government in placing Nagaland under President's rule is going to give a fillip to the activities of the underground Nagas. As the hon. Minister has just now agreed, this is a sensitive area. So, it deserves special consideration. As regards the figures about the percentage of votes polled by different political parties made available to this House by the Minister, I think the Governor is aware of all these facts and also the delicate situation that is prevailing in Nagaland. I would have

very much appreciated it if the Governor had recommended to the Government of India, immediately after the defection of fifteen members from UDF party, to keep Nagaland under President's rule. He did not do it at that time and he did it later on when there was every likelihood that the NNO party, which was in power, was going to fall down. In the Governors' conferences several times—I do not know why these conferences are held at all—they have passed resolutions saying that whenever there is any doubt about the strength of any particular party or about any particular party having a majority, it should be always tested on the Boer of the House. This is the unanimous resolution passed in the Governors' conference. But here, unfortunately, the Governor goes only on the advice of the Speaker and he makes a recommendation to the Government of India to suspend the Assembly. This suspension is very bad. I would have appreciated if he had recommended the dissolution of the Assembly. But he has recommended the suspension of the Assembly obviously to enable the NNO party to consolidate its position. There cannot be any doubt about this. Just now, the hon. Minister said that dissolution will be a very costly affair because the elections were held only in 1974 and again holding the elections is going to be very costly. I do not think that the reasons advanced by the Minister are convincing because the democratic system itself is very costly. If you want to have a cheap system, then you will have to have some other system, dictatorial or some other system. Here it is not a question whether the President's rule in Nagaland is justified or not, the greater question that is involved here is, unfortunately in our country, Parliament Members and Assembly Members have become purchasable commodities, marketable commodities.

SHRI JAGAN NATH BHARDWAJ
(Himachal Pradesh) : We cannot tolerate this.

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL : This is going on, I can quote any number of instances in this House itself. I have no doubt about it. I am prepared to point out also that this is going on not only in regard to the Assembly or Parliament, but this is going on everywhere. This defection, I tell you, is a cancerous disease that is killing our democracy. The hon. Shri Krishan Kant just now said that something should be done about this cancerous disease of defection. I fully agree with him. This is the greater question. I want to know what is it that the ruling party is doing about this. I am very sorry to say that the ruling party has been encouraging defections, and I would appeal to the conscience of Shri Brahmanda Reddy because his party is a conscience party'. I would appeal to his conscience; let him search his conscience and tell us how many defections were there since 1971. And is it not a fact that since 1971 all the defections were only in favour of the ruling Congress ? This is going on. And not only that. Those who have defected to the ruling party are rewarded, they are given very lucrative positions, and defection has been made very attractive. In our country today everything is adulterated and even the ruling party is adulterated. It is not a pure, 100 per cent, Congress Party. I can challenge—it is not a pure, 100 per cent, Congress Party. It is an adulterated party. Your own Congress boss has said, "We are a heterogeneous party." You have got already elements consisting of all parties because there have been defections from the Congress (O), from the Jana Sangh, from the BLD and from the SSP. all defection in favour of the ruling party, the ruling Congress. Only the other day in West Bengal, Mr. Nahar said that there is no difference so far as the ideology, policy and programme is concerned, between Congress (O) and Congress (R). Immediately Mr. Nahar was threatened with disciplinary action. And I may say for the information of this House that the same ruling party is hobnobbing with Congress (O) already in Kerala because we have got three members and six members from the Muslim League there are not prepared to support the ruling Con-

[Shri Veerendra Patil] gress. So, it is a party of convenience and the hon. Minister says that the Defection Bill is before the Select Committee. God only knows when it is going to come.

My own apprehension is that it is not going to come out of the Select Committee. It will lapse because in the meanwhile elections will take place.

DR. M. R. VYAS (Maharashtra) : When the first coalition with the Muslim League was formed by Congress you were also a party.

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL : You say that in Bengal the Congress (O) is reactionary and, therefore, you would not have any coalition with Congress (O) and -the gentleman who advocated some sort of understanding, or alliance, or merger with Congress (O) is being threatened with disciplinary action. Now you are hobnobbing with our party in Kerala. You have lost majority in Kerala.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have to wind up.

SHRI VEERENDRA PATIL : Only the other day in the Karnataka Legislative Assembly the ruling party had no majority. They purchased three Members from our party—two from our party and one from the Jana Sangh. So I want to know when they are going to put a stop to this sort of defection.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Sir, as I have already submitted the other day in my reply and originally when I made the statement that the Governor took ample care to see that the strength of the relative parties is measured on the floor of the House. I also submitted to the House how it was impossible for me to say anything. In view of the fact that the Budget had to be passed and the Appropriation Bill had to be passed and the Speaker had said that he is not prepared to call a meeting of the Assembly until he felt that the Members were in a position to exercise their free

choice and will, I submitted that it was under these circumstances that the Governor had been compelled to make this recommendation.

So far as the Defection Bill is concerned, as I have already submitted, it is for the hon'ble Members of the Joint Select Committee to speed up their consideration and then come to some conclusions.

Now, Sir, Mr. Veerendra Patil and I were valued colleagues for a number of years. And there is an old saying that where lovers quarrel they should return each other's letters.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We are having a very interesting discussion...

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : Romantic.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Almost romantic. But a sense of romance is rather forbidden. Sir, as far as we are concerned, we do not have any information from Nagaland. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to quickly get that information. Generally, on such subjects when internal political developments are involved we would like to speak on some information. Therefore, Sir, when the Proclamation is discussed we will have opportunity to express our point of view in detail in a few days on developments in Nagaland.

Sir, what we have read in the papers is by no means edifying and one does not know what exactly happened. Nagaland has been stated as a sensitive area. We were all very happy when Nagaland was given statehood, the same status as other States, and we all felt that gradually the Naga people, including those who are still underground, would be drawn into the mainstream of our democratic political life so that one chapter is buried. Unfortunately, we seem to be heading for instability and whole slide of the situation is obviously clear. The underground there are raising separatist slogans. They are backed by certain foreign agencies also, as you know very well. Now, naturally, this situation

will be doubtless sought to be exploited by this clement. Therefore, this question needs a little more political and far-seeing approach, if I may say so. You cannot tackle a political situation as exists in Nagaland by the mechanism of remote control. It is not possible.

Sir, a few questions have been raised. I wish the Government had taken all of us, both sides of the House, into confidence and told us not across the floor of the House but outside in a proper meeting, as to what was happening there. Unfortunately this has not been done. I would ask the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs to take this thing a little seriously. Here is Parliament which was sitting yesterday and the day before yesterday. Why was it not possible for the Government to immediately call a meeting of representatives of all the parties represented in Parliament, including the ruling party, in order to inform them of the situation as it was developing, keeping in view the area we are dealing with. At least, an attempt should be made at a national approach in this matter. The Congress Party is not there. I do not think any one of the recognised parties here is represented in Nagaland that way. I think it was very necessary for us to tackle the problem that way.

Then, Sir, we read in the newspapers about the Speaker advising the Governor. This is a new thing. The Speaker can advise the Governor about prorogation or something like that. But this is an extraordinary step that has been taken. Under what circumstances. I do not know. But the step appears, on the face of it, to be extraordinary and on that basis the Governor has acted and now the Government of India has acted. We would like to be enlightened of the developments because we want stability to come back to Nagaland and we want the Naga people to rule the State through their representatives and not by a Secretary here. Hence we are interested in this.

Now, coming to the question of defections, my friend there said that MLAs are marketable commodities : MPs he has not said, I believe; they are high-priced perhaps that way. Now, it is this Ayaram-Gayaram business has taken place. At least, you must admit. MLAs are marketable. Nobody will deny it today. Only I hope Mr. Subramaniam will not come and tell us that the price is falling. I do not say that, because it seems the price of MLAs is very cheap in Nagaland. I hope that will not be cited as an instance of showing how the anti-inflationary measures have started giving results. Now, about defections. I was a member of the Defection Committee which was constituted with representatives of all political parties and outsiders also like Jayaprakash Narayan and others. They gave their recommendations after a lot of discussion. The Committee was presided over by his predecessor, Mr. Chavan. Recommendations were made. What happened to those recommendations? In those recommendations in spite of our differences, we came together in order to find a solution to stop defections. Now, they brought a **Bill** on their own and that has got stuck up in the Select Committee and it is being assailed by almost all people who are coming to give evidence, including former Chief Justices. That Bill will never come. I have been again and again saying: at least come to a conclusion with regard to one matter, that is, how you are going to deal with defections. Leave other things aside. Make defection something which does **not** pay. If we had banned defections or devised measures to deal with defection, such things would not have happened in Nagaland. What is the guarantee that if the Assembly meets again, the same thing will not happen? Measures against defection can be a strong deterrent and a remedy to some extent against this kind of practice.

Now, do something about it *(Time bell rings)*.

Sir, we have always said that the Governor as an institution is not a necessity,

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

at least in the case of a particular Governor. I think you should be think over it. Sir, I have received a telegram from the leader of my group in the Madhya Pradesh Assembly which shows what kind of an attitude they are adopting. Sir, I quote from the telegram:

"Really learn Governor Sinha changes notes of higher denomination of one lakh eighty thousand rupees for lower denominations from the State Bank forcing the Agent to open the strong room before the banking hours (.) Other transactions during 1974 (.) Public agitated (.) Please order inquiry and take necessary action, Homi Daji."

Sir, Mr. Homi Daji, the leader of our group in the Assembly there sends me a telegram. Now, this is how the Governors are behaving. Now, how do you think that we are going to believe when a Governor says such things or acts like this? Therefore, I think this also should be considered alongwith the other questions as to what you are going to do about the Governors.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I think you have to wind up now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : As far as this particular matter is concerned. Sir, I do not want to say anything more except to ask for an inquiry and to request you to tell the State Bank not to allow the notes to be changed that way.

Sir, on the Nagaland question, we would like to have more facts. This development in Nagaland we shall treat as 8 special case. I would feel and I still feel that this matter should be approached somewhat in a detached manner and I would not like to take any political or party advantage out of it. But, at the same time, we must keep in view the interests of the country and also of the people of Nagaland. Stability is very essential there in that area. You know very

well and Mr. Reddy knows very well and he knows it better than I do. Therefore, Sir, he should discuss this matter, find out a way and evolve a political approach and so on. In this connection, Sir, I would like to tell the Minister : For goodness' sake, bring a one-line Bill to amend the Constitution for dealing with defection. In this Session itself you should do it. Let the Select Committee do whatever it likes. If you agree, we are also prepared to forgo the other things. You must pass a measure of this kind. Sir, the Government is coming in the way of the Select Committee. Again and again I have pointed out that the Government should make up its mind. They want to make even voting an act of defection. Today, Sir, if Mr. Kulkarni votes against something, he will be regarded as a defector ! That is not the idea at all. Mr. Krishan Kant will be a defector then every ten hours. Every two hours he will be a defector ! Defection means something else. That was the idea . . . (*Time bell rings*). . . Therefore, Sir, I say that this Bill should be brought forward. The Home Minister has come new now. Mr. Brahma-nanda Reddy, kindly have a look at the Bill which is before the Select Committee, make up your mind and then advise your members in the Select Committee so that the other controversial clauses are left aside and at least this particular clause which deals with defection, with an appropriate definition of defection, not a funny definition, can get passed and that will be a good solution and we must learn the lessons from the incidents which have taken place in Nagaland.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Sir, I may tell that the introduction of the Defection Bill was preceded by consultations with all the Opposition parties and the consensus was, at that time, that it should be referred to a Joint Select Committee and it was so referred.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is not the point. When it made the Report, we

wanted immediate implementation of the recommendations and the Government was committed to it.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Sir, before the introduction of the Bill itself, consultations were there. The introduction of the Bill itself was preceded by consultations with the Opposition parties and, at the meeting, the consensus was that it should be referred to a Joint Select Committee and it has taken a long time and I do not know at what stage it is. 1 P.M.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Reddy, please understand it; please note clearly. In the Defection Bill it was suggested by me that crossing of the floor should be defection. In that Bill all kinds of things are there. Many other things have been said in the Committee. But the Bill was something quite different. The bureaucracy did it. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan never opposed my proposal for recall. You will find this in the proceedings of the Defections Committee. Another member was from the Jana Sangh . . . (*in: c hell rings*). On Other matters they agreed. They said that a defector must cease to be a member of the legislature and, in any case, he should get no post as Minister or otherwise. You kindly go through it.

SHRI BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Sir, just now I do not want to go into the merits and demerits of several provisions of the Bill as to what a defection should be considered to be. All the same, I appreciate what has been said that there is a case for bringing the Bill before the two Houses of Parliament as early as possible.

Now, Sir, so far as Nagaland problem is concerned, as you are all aware, the Naga people are a proud and sensitive race. As has been pointed out rightly by Bhupeshji, Statehood has been given to them after a great deal of discussion and deliberation. And it should have normally satisfied the emotions of these people who wanted their own government. But, unfortunately, due to other reasons, insut-

gents continued, and the security forces and other nationalist organizations are trying to meet the problem of the insurgents. It is true, as I said earlier, that all of us are anxious that there should be stability in that area. All of us wish that there is a stable government in that sensitive area. In fact, if you had seen from the circumstances there, as many people as 8 members have defected once, another 8 have defected twice, and another twice or thrice. This is a fluid situation that is happening there. And, therefore, Sir, it is not as if the Speaker advised the Governor to prorogue or any such thing. When the Governor met the Speaker, he said that in these conditions he would not call the Assembly, and until. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Bratimananda Reddy think over this. Governor is meeting the Speaker ! Are these things very common in Parliamentary system ! May I ask you whether the Governor can meet the Speaker ? He can meet the head of the Government or Opposition leaders or legislators. Generally legislative matters are not discussed in that manner between the Presiding Officer and the Head of the State. These are extraordinary steps I have never heard of it. Many a time President's rule has been imposed. But I do not think that at any time before we were told that things were settled between the Governor and the Speaker. Therefore, Mr. Reddy, *Oo* not allow such pragmatism, and do not take a position from where there will be no point of return. . . (*Interruptions*)

SHRI BRAHMANANDA REDDY : It is not as if the Governor is trying to exercise any influence over the Speaker or the Speaker is exercise any influence on the Governor. When the Assembly was adjourned sine die, he wanted to know from the Speaker whether he would be in a position to call the sitting of the Assembly, so that the parties can determine their relevant strength. But the Speaker said like that and, therefore, under the circumstances which I have already mentioned,

[Shri Brahmananda Reddy] the Governor had not option but to make a recommendation like this.

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra) : Sir, since yesterday, we have been hearing the rumours that very soon the Nagaland State Assembly would be either suspended or dissolved. I am sorry that these rumours have come true. Sir, time and again, it was stated in this House that Nagaland is a very sensitive area and just now the Home Minister said that the Nagaland is a sensitive area and the Nagas Nagas are a very proud people. It are a proud people, you must try to understand what is at stake when we suspend the Assembly. As I understand, the situation is like this. There is an underground movement which is in league with outside powers trying to upset the whole thing. They would even like to opt out of the Indian Union. This is one element. The other element is the parliamentary system. So, the parliamentary system is in competition with antidemocratic and anti-national elements. We must see to it that the parliamentary system wins. This is a very hard race. Therefore, Sir, anything that really hurts the credibility of parliamentary system will have to be avoided. If we are able to instil in the mind of the Nagas a feeling that this is the system which works and that it is not being used by this party or that party as an instrument for self-aggrandisement, then the credibility would improve. Therefore, Sir, I would like to ask you whether it was correct on the part of the Speaker to have adjourned the Assembly *sine die*. That is the first question. I do not want to cast any aspersion on anybody. The simple question is : Was it commonsense to have done this particular thing ? As you admit yourself, all the Members belonging to the Opposition as well as the ruling party were present in the House. What is the use of saying that these people were there under duress or any threat ? They were in the House. The Speaker could have seen who were sitting on the side of the ruling party

and who were sitting in the Opposition. Could not have the Speaker said that since there is pandemonium and lot of disturbance, we will meet after two hours or in a day or two ? Why is it that he took this drastic step and uncalled for step of saying that the Assembly is being adjourned *sine die*. There are a number of instances when the Assemblies are adjourned for a day or two or for a few hours. It is not as if the disturbance has taken place only in the Nagaland State Assembly. Everytime we hear about these things. It has happened in Bhopal and Mysore and Bombay.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH : It is happening in Tripura. The Leader of the Opposition is being held down by the Marshal.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : This is how the pandemonium takes place, but you don't adjourn the House *sine die*. The crux of matter is that in this case the Speaker has played a very significant role which a Speaker does not usually do. He allows the people to express themselves. He allows them to meet again. Once the rule is that whether a party is in majority or in minority in the House will be proved on the floor of the House, it is all the more reason why the Speaker ought to have given them an opportunity to meet again. The element that this group is threatened or that group is threatened is a constant element and even after two months this element is not going to be eliminated. You will have to carry on the fight for a long time. Do you mean to say that there is not going to be any Assembly in Nagaland again ? Do you mean to say that the underground elements will not threaten one group or the other ? The basic factor is that for a long time the parliamentary system will have to be run in competition with the non-parliamentary system or with the insurgency. Here, I suppose that the Speaker has taken a wrong decision. And in supporting his decision, you have again done a wrong. You can still say that now the Assembly will meet after a week or so.

If you are really serious that defections should not take place, then the defectors should not get a chance to play their game. Sir, I was told that about six people there have made it a profession. Defection is a profession with them. They have changed sides four times. So, it has become a profession with them, and you are not going to encourage these people because that is exactly what they want, to keep everything suspended, so that they can bargain with this party once and with the other party next time. This is exactly what you should discourage. I am not talking about the defecions Bill. Enough has been talked here. I must only say this that I have come to the conclusion that you are not serious about stopping the defection at all because, for the last three or four years you have seen that defection is always in your favour and so you think that you stand to gain. You are not thinking of what happens to the parliamentary system in this country. I am really sorry that because the defections have been to your side, you do not care to see what happens to the parliamentary system. This is a very short-sighted view. What is happening everywhere in India is happening there also. The result is that in a sensitive area like Nagaland, the young people, who are with the underground movement will come to this conclusion that the parliamentary system is absolutely unworkable, people in the parliamentary system are purchasable, they are not dependable and so on. Whether the Assembly meets after two weeks or two months, the impression will gain ground that this is not a system which is fit for Nagaland. There is a danger and you try to understand it.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : Sir, I don't think it is correct to say and also I do not know as a fact that because the defections are in favour of the Congress, we are lukewarm about the Defections Bill. We are anxious, Sir. We brought the Bill forward. We consulted the opposition parties and after discussions with them, we referred it to a Joint Select

Committee. And it should be the effort of the Joint Select Committee to complete its work and then send it back. Therefore, Sir, I don't think it is correct to say that we are short-sighted. We know what effect this defection would. . .

SHRf VEERENDRA PATIL : Only two days back, you purchased our Deputy Chairman of the Karnataka Council and made it a majority party in the Council. And you say that you are against defections. It appeared in several newspapers. It was broadcast also.

SHRr K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : I do not know why he left. Whether he was disgusted with you, I do not know. That is a matter beside the point. The point is. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Are you a wholesale stockist or a retailer ?

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY : I am neither.

Sir, it is true and I agree with Mr. Goray that in the State of Nagaland and other areas, the parliamentary system must attract the attention of the people. In fact, Sir, if you had seen the voting there, about 75 to 80 per cent of the people took part in the elections which is a good phenomenon.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : We are betraying the people. -People are fair. But we have no faith in them.

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDY , It is true that we want the parliamentary system to succeed. As I have just now said, more than 70 per cent of the people took part in the elections which shows that they are attracted towards the parliamentary system. Sir, some things do come in and we have to meet them. After all, as you all know, insurgency is confined to a few hundreds of people there, who are trying to create fear in the minds of others, etc. etc. Therefore, Sir, my submission is that what the Speaker should

[Shri K. Brahmananda Redely.] have done is ont a matter for me just now to elucidate. I have said earlier and I am not just now prepared to comment on what the Speaker has done.

**REFERENCE TO ALLOCATION
OF TIME FOR THE BUSINESS OF
THE HOUSE**

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Sir, what about the discussion about the bomb attack on the Chief Justice? I have given a motion. We want to know the programme.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Sir, we would like to know the programme because we want a discussion.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI OM MEHTA) : Sir, on that day we decided that the House will sit up to the 25th March to complete the Government business. Now yesterday Bhupeshji demanded a discussion about the attack on the Chief Justice and other things. So, naturally. Sir, when some more discussion is to take place, we will have to extend the House by one day more and that means that we will have to sit on the 26th also. I hope the House will agree with me on this. And, if they like, I can tell the programme that we are going to have for the next three days.

Sir, today in the afternoon there is the Railway Appropriation Bill and there are three other Bills. We hope to complete the discussion today. On the 24th we will discuss the Pondicherry Budget, the Pondicherry Appropriation Bill and the General Appropriation Bill. On the 25th, we will have made the Gujarat Budget, the Gujarat Appropriation Bill and Discussion under Rule 176. On the 26th, we can have the Naga-land Proclamation and the Nagaland Appropriation Bill.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, yesterday, he did not read it, it went away.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : There is no question of business, there are hardly three days and all the three days are packed and all you? suggestion the House has been extended by one more day. We are sitting on the 26th also to complete the discussion.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, I am not asking for the extension of the House because we can sit late. But, frankly speaking, we want a complete statement—so that we can ask questions,—cut out the discussion—on the searches that are still in progress in the Jaipur Palaces. The Lok Sabha will be in Session but we will not be in Session. As I told you, many more things have been found out and searches are continuing. 4,000 bottles of whisky have been found out. This is very important. Are you not shocked? I thought you are a teetotaler? How many bottles do you need? Sir, some silver barrels have also been found out. I want a statement where we can ask a few questions.

Then, Sir, about Singhania, you have not allowed a Calling Attention notice to be admitted and the Government have not agreed to a Short Notice Question as to why the warrant for detention was issued and then withdrawn. We could give notice for a Short Notice Question but the Government say that they will not answer a Short Notice Question. What is the remedy? We want a statement by the Home Minister or the Finance Minister as to why the warrant against him was withdrawn when there are serious charges. These statements should be given.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal) : Yes, about the Chairman of the Indian Jute Mills Association, a statement should be

**REFERENCE TO PROCUREMENT
PRICE OF WHEAT**

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (उत्तर प्रदेश): उप-सभा-पति जी, देश में गेहूँ पैदा करने वाले चार प्रमुख